

## Message Text

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PAGE 01 STATE 110449 TOSEC 040309  
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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO USDEL SECRETARY NIACT IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY LISBON INIACT IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 110449 TOSEC 040309

EXDIS FOR LISBON FOR VICE PRESIDENT AND AMB YOUNG

REF: FOLLOW UP TO TOSEC 40305

FOLLOWING REPEAT LUSAKA 1303 ACTION SECSTATE LONDON

NAIROBI 14 MAY 77

QUOTE

C O N F I D E N T I A L LUSAKA 1303

EXDIS

NAIROBI FOR AMBASSADOR LOW

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR ZA RH US UK

SUBJ: KAUNDA TO PRESIDENT CARTER MESSAGE ON SMITH'S THREAT

REF: LUSAKA 1300

SUMMARY: IN KAUNDA TO PRESIDENT CARTER MESSAGE, KAUNDA EXPRESSES  
DEEP RESENTMENT OF ROLE BRITISH PLAYED IN INFORMING HIM OF THREAT

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BY SMITH (REFTEL). HE STATES HE WILL HOLD BRITISH RESPONSIBLE  
FOR ANY ESCALATION OF THE FIGHTING SINCE BRITAIN IS THE RE-  
SPONSIBLE COLONIAL POWER, AND SAYS HE EXPECTS BRITAIN TO STOP  
SMITH'S CONTEMPLATED ACTION, KAUNDA SAYS HE RESERVES THE RIGHT  
TO CALL ON ANYONE FOR AID IN THE EVENT ZAMBIA IS ATTACKED.  
IN ORAL PRESENTATION MADE WHEN HANDING OVER LETTER CHONA SAID:  
SMITH IS FEELING THREATENED BY ZAMBIA'S INTENT TO PROSECUTE

OIL COMPANIES FOR SANCTION BUSTING; THIS HAS LED TO HIS THREAT AGAINST ZAMBIA. TIME IS NOW TO TELL OIL COMPANIES TO CUT OFF SUPPLIES TO RHODESIA. IF WAR ESCALATES, THERE WILL BE NO NEED FOR THE GRAHAM CONSULTATIVE GROUP; BRITAIN HAS PLAYED A STRANGE ROLE IN ACTING AS INTERMEDIARY BETWEEN SMITH AND ZAMBIA. REASON PRESIDENT KAUNDA CANCELLED HIS TRIP TO THE U.S. WAS BECAUSE OF HIS AWARENESS THAT TENSION WAS BUILDING ON BORDER BETWEEN ZAMBIA AND RHODESIA. WE HAVE SHARED GIST OF PRESIDENT KAUNDA'S MESSAGE WITH BRITISH HIGH COMMISSION. BRITISH ARE ALERT TO POSSIBILITY THAT FLAP OVER SMITH-OWEN TO KAUNDA WARNING COULD JEOPARDIZE WORK OF CONSULTATIVE GROUP. END SUMMARY

FOLLOWING IS THE TEXT OF A LETTER FROM PRESIDENT KAUNDA TO PRESIDENT CARTER DATED MAY 14 AND GIVEN TO ME AT 1630 LOCAL, MAY 14 BY PRESIDENT KAUNDA'S SPECIAL ASSISTANT MARK CHONA:

QUOTE

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT,

ON THURSDAY, MAY 12, 1977, THE BRITISH HIGH COMMISSIONER IN LUSAKA TRANSMITTED A MESSAGE FROM THE BRITISH FOREIGN AND COMMONWEALTH SECRETARY, DR. DAVID OWEN, DATED MAY 11, 1977, ADDRESSED TO ME. THE FOLLOWING IS THE FULL TEXT OF THAT MESSAGE:

"I HAVE HAD A MESSAGE FROM IAN SMITH. HE SAYS HE HAS RELIABLE INFORMATION THAT ZAPU ARE PLANNING A MAJOR OFFENSIVE AGAINST RHODESIA FROM ZAMBIA. HE WARNS THAT HE MIGHT HAVE NO ALTERNATIVE BUT TO MOUNT PRE-EMPTIVE STRIKES AGAINST ZAPU BASES IN YOUR TERRITORY. HE ASKS ME TO USE MY GOOD OFFICES WITH YOU TO CONFIDENTIAL

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PREVENT AN ESCALATION OF THE FIGHTING WHICH, HE BELIEVES, COULD JEOPARDISE OUR EFFORTS TO PROMOTE A POLITICAL SETTLEMENT. I HAVE REPLIED TO MR. SMITH, SIMPLY SAYING THAT I HAVE DRAWN HIS REMARKS TO YOUR ATTENTION AND THAT, IN MY VIEW, ESCALATION OF THE FIGHTING, BY EITHER SIDE, COULD HAVE SERIOUS CONSEQUENCES."

YOU WILL NO DOUBT UNDERSTAND THE GRAVITY OF THE MESSAGE. THE PARADOX IS THAT IT IS THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT THAT HAS TRANSMITTED TO ME IAN SMITH'S THREAT TO ATTACK THE ZAMBIAN TERRITORY. HMG HAS LIMITED THEIR RESPONSE TO DRAWING MY GOVERNMENT'S ATTENTION AND HAVE MERELY REPORTED TO SMITH THEIR ACTION. I CANNOT HIDE MY UTTER DISAPPOINTMENT IN THE BRITISH DEMONSTRATION OF THEIR ABDICATION OF RESPONSIBILITY OVER THEIR COLONY. RHODESIA IS A BRITISH COLONY FOR WHICH THEY ARE RESPONSIBLE. WE, THEREFORE, HAVE NO CHOICE BUT TO HOLD THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT RESPONSIBLE FOR SMITH'S ATTACKS AGAINST ZAMBIA. WE WILL HOLD THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT RESPONSIBLE FOR THE ESCALATION OF THE WAR WHICH WILL FOLLOW SUCH ATTACKS. WE WILL HOLD THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT RESPONSIBLE FOR ANY CONSEQUENCES WHICH WILL FOLLOW SUCH

AN ESCALATION. WE HAVE A DUTY TO DEFEND OUR TERRITORY. WE RESERVE OUR RIGHT TO CALL UPON ANY FRIENDLY NATION IN THE WORLD TO COME TO OUR AID TO REPEL THE ACTS OF AGGRESSION WHICH APPEAR TO HAVE ENCOURAGEMENT FROM THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT. WE EXPECT THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT TO STOP IAN SMITH'S CONTEMPLATED ACTION BECAUSE IT IS A DIRECT THREAT NOT ONLY TO ZAMBIA BUT TO INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY.

WE ALSO KNOW FROM OUR SOURCES IN SOUTH AFRICA THAT EVERY MAJOR RHODESIAN OFFENSIVE AGAINST MOZAMBIQUE WAS JOINTLY PLANNED BY RHODESIA AND SOUTH AFRICA AND FINANCED BY THE LATTER. WE NOW KNOW THAT SOUTH AFRICA IS INVOLVED IN THE CURRENT MILITARY PLANS AGAINST ZAMBIA.

WE KNOW NOTHING OF THE PLANNED SO-CALLED OFFENSIVE BY ZAPU AGAINST REBEL RHODESIA. WE BELIEVE THAT IAN SMITH MERELY WANTS TO CREATE AN EXCUSE FOR ATTACKING ZAMBIA. WE WILL RESIST SUCH

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ATTACK .

FOR MANY YEARS WE HAVE SHOWN OUR TOLERANCE AND UNDERSTANDING IN THE SEARCH FOR A PEACEFUL END TO THE WAR IN ZIMBABWE. IAN SMITH WITH THE APPARENT ENCOURAGEMENT OF THE BRITISH NOW WANTS TO DESTROY OUR COMMITMENT TO PEACE. IT IS WITH PROFOUND REGRET THAT WE CAN NO LONGER CONTINUE TO SHOULDER THE BURDEN OF BUILDING AND MAINTAINING PEACE ALONE.

I URGE YOU TO BRING PRESSURE TO BEAR ON THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT, SOUTH AFRICA AND IAN SMITH NOT TO ENCOURAGE A SITUATION WHOSE CONSEQUENCES WILL BE FELT FAR BEYOND THIS REGION.

YOURS SINCERELY,  
KENNETH KAUNDA  
END QUOTE

AFTER PRESENTING THE LETTER CHONA SAID HE HAD BEEN INSTRUCTED BY PRESIDENT KAUNDA TO MAKE FURTHER POINTS ORALLY.

KAUNDA WANTED PRESIDENT CARTER TO KNOW THAT ZAMBIA IS INTENT ON INVESTIGATING ALL POSSIBLE MEANS FOR PROSECUTING OIL COMPANIES WHICH HAVE VIOLATED OIL SANCTIONS FOR YEARS BY SUPPLYING OIL TO RHODESIA. SMITH IS AWARE OF ZAMBIA'S INTENT AND HE FEELS AFRAID AND THREATENED. IT IS FOR THIS REASON THAT HE IS MENACING ZAMBIA. GIVEN THIS ILLUSTRATION OF SMITH'S SENSITIVITY TO THE QUESTION OF A POSSIBLE REDUCTION IN HIS OIL SUPPLIES, "ISN'T THE TIME NOW FOR OIL COMPANIES, INCLUDING AMERICAN OIL COMPANIES, TO BE TOLD TO STOP SUPPLYING "SMITH."

PRESIDENT CARTER SHOULD KNOW THAT PRESIDENT KAUNDA TAKES MOST

SERIOUSLY SMITH'S THREAT. IF ZAMBIA IS ATTACKED, IT WILL BE WAR, AND ZAMBIA WILL FEEL FREE TO CALL ON ANYONE FOR ASSISTANCE IN DEFEATING THE ENEMY. UNLIKE MOZAMBIQUE ZAMBIA IS PREPARED TO DEFEND ITS TERRITORY, AND IS PREPARED TO CALL FOR OUTSIDE ASSISTANCE IN SO DOING. IF THERE SHOULD BE AN EXCALATION PROVOKED  
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BY SMITH, THE NEED FOR A GRAHAM CONSULTATIVE GROUP WOULD NO LONGER EXIST.

PRESIDENT KAUNDA WAS UTTERLY DISAPPOINTED AT THE INTERMEDIARY ROLE BRITAIN HAD PLAYED IN RELAYING THE MESSAGE FROM SMITH. AS THE COLONIAL POWER, BRITAIN SHOULD HAVE TOLD SMITH THAT, IF HE MADE ANY MOVE AGAINST ZAMBIA, HE WOULD BE PUNISHED. PRESIDENT KAUNDA HAD SENT A MESSAGE TO PRIME MINISTER CALLAGHAN TO DETERMINE IF OWEN HAD ACTED WITH THE PRIME MINISTER'S KNOWLEDGE IN TRANSMITTING THE SMITH WARNING. ONCE THIS WAS ASCERTAINED, PRESIDENT KAUNDA WOULD MAKE HIS FINAL DECISION ON HOW TO TREAT THIS "STRANGE" INTERVENTION BY THE BRITISH.

PRESIDENT CARTER SHOULD BE INFORMED THAT THE REAL REASON, PRESIDENT KAUNDA HAD CANCELLED HIS VISIT TO THE U.S. WAS BECAUSE HE KNEW THAT TENSIONS WERE BUILDING ON THE ZAMBIA/RHODESIA BORDER. THERE HAD BEEN INCREASED INCIDENTS OF RHODESIAN AIRCRAFT VIOLATING ZAMBIAN AIR SPACE AND THE NUMBER OF SHOOTING INCIDENTS HAD GROWN.

I SHARED WITH THE BRITISH HIGH COMMISSION THE GIST OF KAUNDA'S LETTER. THEY FEEL THAT THE OWEN MESSAGE WARNING OF SMITH'S THREAT HAS RAISED GRAVE PROBLEMS FOR THE EARLY SUCCESS OF THE GRAHAM MISSION. THEY HAVE TRANSMITTED KAUNDA'S REQUEST FOR CLARIFICATION AS TO WHETHER PRIME MINISTER CALLAGHAN HAD APPROVED THE OWEN MESSAGE TO LONDON AND ARE AWAITING A REPLY. THEY DO NOT KNOW JUST HOW FAR KAUNDA'S EMOTIONS, OR CHONA'S ADVICE, WILL LEAD HIM IN PLACING STRAINS ON ZAMBIAN/UK RELATIONS, BUT KAUNDA'S COMBATATIVE MOOD MAKES THEM THINK HE IS READY TO GO PRETTY FAR.

COMMENT: IF WE ARE TO HAVE AN IMPACT ON CALMING KAUNDA DOWN, WHICH IS OBVIOUSLY OF HIGHEST IMPORTANCE IN GETTING THE CONSULTATIVE GROUP OFF TO A GOOD START, WE SHOULD GET A REPLY TO HIS LETTER TO PRESIDENT CARTER TO HIM SOONEST. OWEN'S LETTER HAS SUCCEEDED IN BRINGING TO THE FORE ALL OF THE RESENTMENT  
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KAUNDA HAS BUILT UP AGAINST THE BRITISH OVER THE YEARS. IT

SHOULD BE NOTED, AS REPORTED REFTTEL, PRESIDENT KAUNDA INTENDS  
TO ADDRESS THE NATION ON THE SMITH THREAT MONDAY, MAY 16.  
CLINGERMAN  
UNQUOTE CHRISTOPHER

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NNN

## Message Attributes

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